The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR WOMAN'S SERVICE

PARTIAL SUFFRAGE VERSUS THE PEOPLE

PROTESTS AGAINST STATUTORY SUFFRAGE

CIVILIZATION BASED UPON THE FAMILY

WHAT IS WRONG WITH WYOMING?

THE CONTRAST OF A CHART WITH THE TRUTH

A COMPARISON OF CHILD LABOR LAWS

FEDERAL INDICTMENT OF "BETTER CANDIDATES"

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THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR WOMAN'S SERVICE

"FOR GOD—FOR COUNTRY—FOR HOME"

National Headquarters: 105 West 40th Street, New York City

THE National League for Woman's Service was organized in Washington, D. C., January 26, 1917, endorsed by the Congress of Constructive Patriotism. It was thought that three months would be required properly to start the various departments, but the creation of the present crisis only five days after the League was organized has led to the adoption of the following official emergency program. An effort is being made to obtain the registry of women who are ready to volunteer their services in time of emergency. If you are able to volunteer for full or part time, send at once to National Headquarters for official information blanks for organizations or for individuals. The League is absolutely non-partisan, and has no connection with any political movement or party.

Object: To co-ordinate and standardize the work of women of America along lines of Constructive Patriotism; to develop the resources and to promote the efficiency of women in meeting their every-day responsibilities to Home, to State, to Nation and to Humanity; to co-ordinate existing organizations; to co-operate with the Red Cross and other agencies in meeting any calamity—fire, flood, famine, economic disorder, etc., and in time of war to supplement the work of the Red Cross, the Army and Navy, and to deal with questions of women's work and women's welfare.

The National League for Woman's Service has been invited to appoint three members of its Organization Committee to attend meetings of the Council for National Defense in Washington, to represent the Woman Power of America.

THE Emergency Program of the National League for Woman's Service for temporary organization is as follows:

The appointment by the National Office of a temporary State Chairman in every State. The appointment by the State Chairman of Local Chairmen within her State; the Local Chairmen shall supervise the local work of the National League for Woman's Service. The State Chairman may appoint her own State Committee, and the Local Chairman may appoint her own Local Committee. These committees should consist of at least one vice-chairman, a secretary, a treasurer and as many other members as may seem desirable.

In States where no State Chairman has yet been appointed, Local Chairmen may be appointed directly by the National Office.

State Headquarters should be secured—rent free, if possible—and all of the organization work for the State should be done through the State Headquarters. Local Headquarters should be secured and all of the local organization work should be done through the Local Headquarters.

The first step in organizing the local work should be the registration of volunteers. Standardized registration blanks will be furnished by the National Office.

Local Detachments may be organized on the following basis: *A Detachment* shall consist of not less than ten nor more than thirty members. *A Commandant*, who should be at least twenty-five years of age and approved by the *Local Chairman*, should be in charge of each Detachment. A Detachment registration blank, with the name, address and telephone number of the Detachment Commandant, and the names and addresses of the members of the Detachment, should be filed in the office of the Local Chairman.

Under the Emergency Plan there are no Charter Fees, and no Membership Dues.

Two or more Detachments, working under any one *Division* in a community, should form a *Local Section* under the leadership of a *Captain*. The Section Captain may be chosen by the Detachment Commandants, and should, if possible, be a leader along the line of activity of the Division under which the Detachments are organized. The Section Captains should be appointed by the Local Chairman.

Emergency Detachments may be organized under the following Divisions:

A.—Social and Welfare: Under this Division, the following service may be required:

1st, In Communities where Military Training Camps are established, Detachments should know what recreational facilities and social clubs are provided in the community for the free time of the men in the Camps; which, if any, of the social clubs are open to both men and women. If no such Clubs exist, the Detachments in this Division should be prepared to co-operate in establishing and supervising such clubs.

2d, In communities where munition plants or other large industries are located, Detachments under the Social and Welfare Division should be prepared to co-operate in providing proper housing facilities for the employees. Unsanitary conditions, overcrowding, etc., should be reported to proper authorities, and provisions made, if possible, to improve conditions. (Investigations of housing conditions should be undertaken only by experienced persons.)

3d, Canteens should be provided in connection with large munition plants and other industries, where hot luncheons would be served at a moderate price. (Such canteens should be conducted on an entirely self-supporting basis.)

4th, Canteens should be established at railway stations en route to and from Military Training Camps, where hot coffee, tea, cocoa and sandwiches would be served.

5th, Welfare work for industrial workers, based upon the conditions in the community, should be undertaken by Detachments under the Social and Welfare Division.

6th, Detachments under this Division should also co-operate with the Red Cross and other agencies in the care of families of Militiamen. (Experienced persons should be used as far as possible for visiting and investigations.)

B.—Commissariat: Under the Commissariat Division, members of Detachments should be prepared to purchase supplies and to act as cooks in industrial canteens, railroad station canteens and in hospitals.

C.—Motor Driving: In case telegraph or telephone communication should be broken at any time in any community, Detachments of Motor Drivers should be prepared to establish communication service for the Army, should this be necessary, and also for civilian interests. Members of this Detachment should be required to pass a test as to skill in driving and also as to knowledge of the mechanism of the motor.

D.—General Service: Detachments under this Division should be prepared to render service in organization administrative work and general office work, including stenography, filing and record work, telegraphy, telephone switchboard work, etc.

The Commandants of Detachments, or Captains of Sections should, so far as possible, utilize the facilities furnished by their community to increase the efficiency of their Detachments.

In case of emergency, the fitness of members of Detachments for service, should be determined by the Commandant of the Detachment, the Captain of the Local Section and the Local Chairman. *A service card*, bearing the signature of the Local Chairman, should be given to each member assigned to any service.

All Detachments organized under every Division should have at least one hour a week of standardized physical drill. For the development of discipline, self-control, team work, endurance and *esprit de corps*, physical drill is of the greatest value, and while in this emergency program it is not required, it is recommended for the work of all Detachments. The Local Chairman should ascertain what facilities are furnished in the community for physical drill, and all Detachments in the community should meet together for at least one hour a week for drill. A standardized outline for drilling will be furnished by National Headquarters. Only members of the Detachments should be permitted to take part in the drilling.

It should be definitely understood that the physical drill in this program *in no way is intended to fit women for military service*. The National League for Woman's Service *does not conceive this to be a part of woman's responsibility*.

Any already existing organization may organize Detachments among its own membership on the basis of the above outline. These Detachments would be registered in the office of the Local Chairman and would be subject to the same general ruling as other Detachments in the community.

Further information may be secured upon application to the National League for Woman's Service, 105 West 40th Street, New York City.

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

HON. WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States,
Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to inform you that the Executive Committee of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, acting for the organization, to-day passed the following resolution:

"That we offer our services to the President and will serve in any way in which we can be of use."

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE, *President.*

February 9, 1917.

AMERICA FIRST

"*WHEREAS*, An emergency exists which may lead to the active engagement of the armed forces of the United States to protect the lives and property of American citizens, and

"*Whereas*, The cost of conflict is minimized when all citizens contribute their share of service to their common country, therefore,

"*Be It Resolved*, By the Board of Directors of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage:

"That in harmony with our work for home and humanity the facilities of this organization be dedicated to the service of 'America First.'

"That we co-operate with the United States Government, the American Red Cross and other patriotic organizations in contributing to the comfort of the men who serve the Nation on land and sea, and in providing for the protection and subsistence of the women and children who remain at home."

Adopted, June 29, 1916.

"*BE It Resolved*, That adequate measures for National Defense should receive the support of every loyal American.

"That woman everywhere should strive to further the cause of preparedness by the study of the sources and conservation of the food supply, by thrift and economy in household management and by training in the care for the physical well-being of our people in times of peace as well as of national disaster.

"That this Association appeals to the mothers of the country to teach their children reverence for authority, obedience to law and willingness to sacrifice selfish interests for the country's good."

Adopted, January 27, 1916.

These two resolutions express the principles of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage in reference to the vital issues of preparedness and woman's service. Every active effort to put these principles into effect will receive the cordial support and co-operation of the women who are organized against woman suffrage.

To quote a recent address of Mrs. J. D. Gilfillan, president of the Minnesota Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage:

"No more explaining—we are each out now in our true colors. Woman in politics *for politics*, or woman out of politics *for patriotism*."

THE CONSERVATION OF WOMAN

THE progressive organization of women for preparedness and national service should not be allowed to become an obstruction to a clear-cut realization of the differences between the sexes, and the necessity for protecting the actual and potential mother of the race.

We have often pointed out that women, at least some women, can do practically anything a man can do, but man cannot take over the duties of woman, and woman cannot perform them efficiently if she attempts too much that she could better leave to her brother.

Beyond all cavil, the present war has demonstrated that though women serve their country *as well* as men, the service is not the same. Women are at least exempt from the hardships of actual fighting, regardless of the isolated instances in which some few women in all wars in all ages have served in the ranks.

Nor should we insult the brave men who fight our battles at the front by repeating the flimsy fallacy that "women in war suffer more than the men." Except in a country overrun by ruthless invaders, this frequent remark is never true of women as a whole. It is idle to claim that the woman's mental suffering through separation from her husband or son, or the inconveniences to which she may be subjected in securing a living for herself and children while the men are at the front, is worse than anything men have to endure in actual battle. This claim is an insult to manhood, in that it denies to the father or the son at the front any capacity to feel, except physically, and assumes that the wounded soldier dying on the battlefield has no thoughts for the mother, wife or sweetheart at home which are comparable to her feelings for him!

This fallacy that women suffer more in war than men—a fallacy which can be uttered with applause in almost any audience—is exactly on a par with the claim that an anxious father suffers more than a mother when a child is born! Thoughtful persons will refute it, wherever it is used, and it is used mostly in pleas for woman suffrage.

In a physical sense, women are indisputably more exempt from the hardships of war than men. The good of the race requires it, and the clock of civilization is turned backward to the extent that woman's exemptions from the physical hardships of war are abridged or denied.

FUTILE FALSEHOOD

IN the current issue of *The Woman Voter*, which always devotes a page or more to futile misrepresentation of the antis, a writer pretends to note a remarkable "shift in anti-suffrage."

"They no longer fight the principle of woman suffrage, but concentrate their opposition upon the Federal amendment as a method of attainment. The usual anti-suffrage bogies; * * * frenzied figures which sometimes prove that women will not use the ballot if it is thrust upon them, and sometimes prove that women will overwhelm the polling places if they have the opportunity * * * are no longer presented. The antis are massing their forces, prepared even to enter 'the dirty maelstrom of politics' if necessary to prevent, not woman suffrage, but a Federal suffrage amendment."

It would be difficult to cite a paragraph containing more falsehood than the above, or grosser misrepresentation. However, it is added, in the same article:

"Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge promised that a million anti-suffragists would leave their spheres to defeat Mr. Hughes."

This last falsehood would seem to indicate that the writer of the article is woefully ignorant or altogether unscrupulous.

The non-partisan attitude of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage and of the *Woman's Protest* is a matter of record. (See Editorial, "Non-partisanship," *Woman's Protest*, September, 1916.)

The other falsehoods are equally apparent. Anti-suffragists are all the more opposed to woman suffrage in principle exactly *because* of some of the ruthless methods of misrepresentation constantly used by the suffragists, especially in their campaign for "the destruction of self-government," as Mr. Root well calls the Federal amendment.

But it is to be inferred that the gross mistake made by *The Woman Voter* is due mostly to incapacity to understand the actions of an organization of *women with a sense of proportion*. An organization dedicated to the principle of "America First" must obviously seem strange to a cause advocating "Suffrage First."

PARTIAL SUFFRAGE VERSUS THE PEOPLE

STATUTORY or presidential suffrage for women, in States which have defeated woman suffrage at the polls, is one of the most unfair, the most undemocratic and the most dangerous propositions now advocated by the suffragists.

Under this form of suffrage, women *do not vote* for State offices *named in the Constitution*, nor for State representatives in their own State Legislature or in Congress. They vote for Presidential electors, and for municipal offices which are not mentioned in the State Constitution.

No glimmer of excuse can be given that statutory suffrage is for "better laws for women." The women with statutory suffrage *do not vote for the lawmakers of their State or Nation.*

Why is this form of suffrage preferred by the suffragists to a submission of the whole question to the people? The answer is plain. They are "playing politics," with future candidates for President of the United States! They desire to go before every political convention, as they did at Chicago and St. Louis, and offer to deliver the votes of the same four million women to anybody who will use his influence as Chief Executive to *abolish* States rights and to pass a Federal suffrage amendment!

By evading the will of the people in the States, and obtaining the presidential vote from the Legislatures, instead of the people, they hope eventually to find some candidate they can intimidate as President of the United States!

In other words, they feel that if they can threaten the President and wheedle woman suffrage from the politicians, the *people* —who must pay for the useless experiment—can be ignored.

In Illinois, the voters of Chicago rejected woman suffrage by 235,000 majority in April, 1912. In 1913, the suffragists, through a secret lobby, secured statutory suffrage from the Legislature.

In 1916, the Governor who signed the statutory suffrage bill *was overwhelmingly defeated* by the voters of Illinois.

In 1917, the suffragists admit that they are afraid to submit the question to the people, as the following extract from the Chicago *Tribune*, February 5, 1917, shows:

Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, president of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, will lead a host of prominent women to Springfield today to oppose the resolution for the submission of full suffrage to a referendum vote. She will ask the Legislature to pass the resolution for a constitutional convention.

Mrs. Trout last night declared that the submission of the suffrage resolution at this time would be fatal, whereas a constitutional convention would afford a means of getting full suffrage.

A constitutional amendment must be submitted to the voters on its own merits. It is interesting to know that it would be "fatal" thus to submit woman suffrage to the voters of Illinois after three years of statutory suffrage!

In a constitutional convention, a body of politicians "packed" by suffragists can conceal woman suffrage under cover of some other measure less unpopular, and thus have it "slipped through" with the Constitution.

The methods of "purified politics" introduced by woman suffragists would make Tweed and Tammany seem like amateurs.

But this is not all. The National American Woman Suffrage Association is formally on record in favor of suffrage by these methods, and not one suffrage association in the country has repudiated their use.

A letter revealing a candid attempt to "put over" partial woman suffrage in Minnesota while confessing that it is "not wise" to have the voters decide the question of full suffrage, was recently sent to the Legislators of that State. It is signed by Clara Ueland, president, Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association.

It reads, in part, as follows:

My dear Senator ————

Within the past two years the members of the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association have unanimously agreed that it is not wise to ask the Legislature for a suffrage amendment to the Constitution. With a Constitution that calls for a majority of the votes cast upon an amendment, it seems best for the present at least not to enter into such an unequal contest.

In the way of partial suffrage there is one thing the Legislature can grant to the women of the State and that is the right to vote for President * * *."

"We want suffrage from the politicians because the people are too wise" is the slogan that ought to appear on every suffrage banner.

The following letter from Illinois may indicate why the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and the president of the Illinois Woman Suffrage Association, are opposed to any referendum to the people of that State on full suffrage for women:

E————, Ill.
January 16, 1917.

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge,
New York City.

My dear Madam:

The literature which you kindly sent me was received and I wish to thank you for it. I won the debate held today and it is only from your help that I did win, and it did not only help me, but my fellow-classmates. I also wish to thank you for the help given them. I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

————————

"Legislatures are more sensitive politically to party dictation, party political debts and business interests than are the voters," says the official suffrage organ. That is how it happens that woman suffrage can be "slipped through" in some States in spite of the people, even when the "cause" cannot win a school debate!

At a Congressional hearing, when a suffragist presented an elaborate argument to prove that it is easier to get suffrage from a legislature than from an electorate, a member of the Committee put the following pertinent question:

"Do I gather correctly from your remarks that you imply that *it is easier to corrupt a legislature than a whole electorate?*"

The answer is not yet forthcoming.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

SO far, the contest for and against statutory suffrage for women has given the suffragists two doubtful victories.

North Dakota, with more or less socialistic experimentalists in control of its government, has passed a bill similar to that of Illinois. Ohio has passed a similar bill, not yet signed by the Governor.

The bill passed by North Dakota January 18 was the first bill signed by the new Governor.

North Dakota and Ohio defeated woman suffrage by popular vote in 1914. The North Dakota statutory suffrage bill goes into effect July 1.

There is some doubt as to whether the present bill will stand. There is another bill now in the North Dakota Legislature providing for another referendum to the people on full suffrage. The situation is the same in Ohio.

Should these bills be submitted to the people and rejected by popular vote, public opinion might compel the repeal of the present statutory suffrage, even should it prove effective for the present. It is four years till a Presidential campaign.

It is not an unmixed defeat to have a State adopt statutory suffrage. With statutory suffrage, the votes of men and women are kept separate—as they are not in the full suffrage States—and

it is all the more easy to demonstrate the practical failure of woman suffrage in action when track can be kept of exactly how women exercise the franchise.

The situation at the time of going to press is as follows:

Alabama: Suffragists conducting "quiet campaign" explained by Birmingham suffrage leader as because of orders from Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.

Arkansas: Representative John A. Riggs, author of proposed suffrage constitutional amendment, withdrew his measure January 25th, to support Senator Smith's bill for a constitutional convention.

Connecticut: Four forms of suffrage bills pending.

Delaware: Vigorous campaign by both sides. Antis are conducting canvass similar to Ohio registration of women.

Georgia: Atlanta Suffrage Association concentrating efforts toward getting municipal suffrage for women in Atlanta.

Illinois: Joint resolution to submit an amendment granting full suffrage introduced in both houses January 17th. Illinois Suffrage Association and National Suffrage Association are lined up against this bill. It is backed by Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCullough and a small faction of suffragists working for it in spite of State and National objections.

Indiana: Statutory suffrage bill passed by State Senate, 32 to 16.

Iowa: Joint resolution for another submission of constitutional amendment introduced in the State Senate by Adison M. Parker, January 29. Municipal and presidential suffrage bills are pending.

Maine: Resolution providing for referendum introduced by Senator Swift of Augusta, January 25. Passed by Senate.

Minnesota: Statutory suffrage bill introduced January 17. (See statement by president of Minnesota suffragists).

Missouri: Statutory suffrage bill pending.

Nebraska: Statutory suffrage bill introduced January 22. Passed Lower House February 7.

New Hampshire: Statutory suffrage bill in the hands of Committee on Revision of Laws.

New Jersey: Suffragists working for introduction of statutory suffrage bill.

New York: Re-submission of constitutional amendment to the voters, November 6, 1917, pending. Its passage predicted by both sides.

North Carolina: Statutory suffrage bill defeated by Lower House, 64 to 42, February 9.

North Dakota: Statutory suffrage bill signed by Governor January 25. Vice-President of North Dakota suffragists said: "Governor Frazier,.....You give the first touch of democracy to the State of North Dakota." Interesting idea of democracy —forcing the people by legislative act to pay for an experiment they have rejected by popular vote!

Ohio: More "democracy." Statutory suffrage bill passed by Lower House, 72 to 50, February 1. Ohio defeated woman suffrage by 87,000 majority in 1912; by 182,000 majority in 1914. A recent registration of adult women in Ohio shows 121,706 antis, 12,147 in favor of suffrage and 1,571 indifferent. Senate, February 14, passed bill, 20 to 16.

Oklahoma: A substitute for the "grandfather clause" and woman suffrage are combined in a proposed constitutional amendment introduced in the Senate January 9 by Senator Fred Tucker.

Pennsylvania: Representative Samuel A. Whitaker, of Phenixville, introduced a bill for a constitutional amendment, January 29. Several of the most influential lawmakers, including the Speaker, Richard J. Baldwin, are understood to have declared they want to find out how the people feel about having an election within five years on a question recently disposed of by a decisive vote. The last suffrage amendment cost the State $80,000. Mr. Baldwin's position is that advocates of suffrage must show a real demand by the people for a chance to vote before the subject receives serious consideration. Noting the level-headed common sense of the Pennsylvania Legislature, one ceases to wonder why the Keystone State has the best child labor law and the best mothers' pension act in the United States!

South Carolina: A joint resolution providing for a referendum at the general election in 1918 was introduced in the Senate January 10 by Senator Sherard.

South Dakota: Resolution providing for re-submission of suffrage amendment in 1918 passed by a vote of 66 to 27 in the Lower House on January 26.

Tennessee: Statutory suffrage bill passed by Lower House, 59 to 25, January 19. Defeated in the State Senate, 21 to 12, February 1. (See letter, "When Mr. Bryan Talks for Votes.")

Texas: A bill submitting a constitutional amendment to popular vote was defeated in the Lower House, February 6. A bill allowing women the right to vote at primary elections was introduced in the Senate January 29 by Senator Lattimore. There is little chance of its passing. If passed, it is expected to be vetoed by Governor Ferguson.

Vermont: Statutory suffrage bill introduced January 24. Hearing February 6.

Wisconsin: Bill for referendum in November, 1918, introduced February 2. Substantially the same measure, amended to provide for a referendum to *women* in November, 1918, and a referendum to the constitutional voters two years later, was introduced February 8. Both measures are before the same committee.

PROTESTS AGAINST STATUTORY SUFFRAGE

To the General Assembly of the State of Indiana:

BELIEVING that the question of woman suffrage is one which profoundly concerns the future of the State and every man, woman and child in it, we, in behalf of the women of Indiana, who oppose this movement, ask this committee to consider the reasons for our opposition and not to take action favorable to the measure unless it can be shown that it is the demand of the majority of the women of the State and that the interests of the State and community will be better served by admitting women to the electorate.

We oppose the measure because,

First: We believe it is the demand of a minority of the women of our State.

This legislature has been petitioned to grant the ballot to women in the name of the "Women of Indiana." We deny the right of these petitioners to speak for the women of Indiana. We believe we represent the wishes of the great majority of women who are as yet unorganized in their opposition and who are denied by this bill any opportunity to express their preference. As far as we have evidence 90 per cent. of our women are either opposed to suffrage or have not expressed an opinion on the question. This majority is composed of the average woman, those who care personally for their own children and homes. In the interest of democracy their wishes should be considered, rather than the 10 per cent. who demand that unwelcome burdens be placed upon their sisters.

The suffragists claim that their demand is for "justice to women." But for which women—the 10 per cent. who demand or the 90 per cent. who protest or who have said nothing?

Second: We are opposed to woman suffrage because we believe that women can best serve the State and community by leaving party politics to men and directing their gifts along the

lines largely denied to men because of their obligations involved in the necessary machinery of political suffrage. We believe that without the ballot woman can do more for civic reform than with it.

Women have civic duties and we believe that the best way to perform these duties is by the enlightenment of public opinion. Legislation is merely crystallized public opinion. In the creation of public opinion women now have a tremendous influence through the press, through education, through our schools, through the training of the citizens of the future, through the church, through organization. To-day we can approach public questions as women interested solely in the good of the community. With the ballot women will deal with such questions as men deal with them; with one eye on the public good and one eye on the party good.

Give women the ballot and the State loses its largest body capable of exercising a serene and unprejudiced influence solely for the welfare of the State.

Third: We believe that with women in party politics there will arise a new party machine with the woman boss in control. To-day our whole effort can be directed along the line of destroying prejudice and ignorance; with the ballot our effort will be lost in the vain strife with a party machine and its women manipulators. We will be more helpless against that kind of women than men are helpless against that kind of men.

The masters of a party machine know how to nullify the intent of the electorate; there must always be perpetual struggle between the two. Women cannot shirk the burdens and responsibilities of the mechanical side of democratic government by limiting their activities to the casting of a paper into the ballot box.

We believe that woman suffrage is on the whole a costly, futile and dangerous experiment.

We believe that woman can best serve the State and her own highest interests without the ballot.

And we beg your earnest and disinterested consideration of this remonstrance.

Signed:

Mary Ella Swift (Mrs. Lucius B. Swift), 716 E. Fourteenth St.
Caroline Harrison Howland, 1233 N. Pennsylvania St.
Mary A. E. Woollen (Mrs. William Watson Woollen), 1628 N. Pennsylvania St.
Mrs. Hugh Harrison, 1230 N. Delaware St.
Mrs. L. H. Levy, 2902 N. Meridian St.
Mrs. S. A. Fletcher, Millersville, Ind.
Mrs. Harry Murphy, 2129 N. Alabama St.
Mrs. W. H. H. Miller, 1219 N. Delaware St.
Mrs. F. G. Darlington, 1240 N. Delaware St.
Mrs. Henry Scott Fraser, 1442 N. Delaware St.
Mrs. A. Bennett Gates, 1820 N. Meridian St.

To the Honorable Senators and Representatives in the Fortieth Legislature of Minnesota.

GENTLEMEN:

THE undersigned desire respectfully to submit to you their remonstrance against the bill awaiting your attention to give statutory suffrage to the women of Minnesota.

Statutory suffrage for women by action of the Legislature, in the absence of a petition for it signed by the women of the State generally and voluntarily, would be, in the judgment of the undersigned, thoroughly indefensible. It would lack the support even of the arguments usually advanced in defense of the woman suffrage proposition.

Suffrage leaders customarily represent that they wish the ballot for certain humane and exalted purposes which State and local governments chosen wholly by men have neglected, though the same neglect appears to have occurred in States in which woman has had the ballot for many years. In the present instance this pretense of special and superior interest in certain matters under the jurisdiction of the State and municipal governments is abandoned.

The constitution of Minnesota limits to men the right to vote for all officers now or hereafter to be elected by the people. Therefore the only effect of statutory suffrage in this State would be to give women the right to vote for Presidential electors whose sole duty is to participate in the election of a President of the United States, and who have nothing to do with "municipal housekeeping" or with the enactment of State laws for the protection of women and children.

Statutory suffrage is proposed either in good faith, and as a finality, or in bad faith and as a means of getting the camel's nose under the tent, as a means of gaining, without the consent of the present electorate of this State, a position from which the suffragists may the better intimidate and coerce the judgment of the public men and the press of Minnesota on a question of fundamental importance in government.

The ultimate question is whether the interests of the State would be served by giving women full suffrage, such as can be established only by amendment to the Constitution of Minnesota. It is impossible to conceive a valid, public reason for giving women the right to vote for Presidential electors while denying them the right to participate in the election of the officers who must deal with questions of peculiar and immediate concern to us as citizens under the jurisdiction of our State and local governments.

Therefore, when the Legislature of Minnesota deals with the question of woman suffrage, it should deal with the ultimate question, and this in circumstances most favorable to an honest expression of opinion on this important subject by the public men, the press and the people of the State.

The demand for statutory suffrage betrays on the part of the suffragists a conviction that the people of Minnesota in the majority are to-day opposed to woman suffrage by constitutional amendment, the only rational basis upon which, if meritorious, it could be proposed. It therefore amounts to a request that the Legislature of a sovereign State, whose first and most solemn obligation is to respect the will of a free people, shall join the suffragists in a conspiracy to defeat by a process of circumlocution a full, free and fair discussion of the question ultimately to be proposed. The public opinion which would condemn woman suffrage by constitutional amendment, if proposed to-day, surely would not approve a statutory grant of suffrage to woman. The pending proposal therefore is a demand that the body chosen to represent the public opinion of this State shall legislate in defiance of the opinion on a question whose fundamental importance was recognized by the founders of this republic, the framers of its constitution and the authors of the constitution of our own State.

We earnestly ask that you leave the question where the authors of Minnesota's constitution placed it, and that no modification be proposed by you, except on condition that the change shall be subject to approval by a majority of the duly qualified voters of Minnesota.

Signed: Respectfully,

THE MINNESOTA ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE,
By MRS. JOHN B. GILFILLAN, *President.*

THE ST. PAUL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE,
By MRS. E. C. STRINGER, *President.*

THE MINNEAPOLIS ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO THE FURTHER EXTENSION OF SUFFRAGE TO WOMEN,
By MRS. EDMUND PENNINGTON, *President.*

To the Honorable Members of the
Thirty-seventh General Assembly of Iowa.

WE have no intention of importuning and annoying your body with frequent urging of our pleas. We know that the suffrage question is only one of many important issues which are claiming your time and consideration.

But we feel that representing as we do thousands of earnest and thoughtful women from every part of the State, and from every walk of life, we are entitled to protest with all our energies against the imposition upon us of a burden which would prove injurious alike to us and to the state.

Observant physicians and psychologists are warning women of the danger to their organisms, more sensitive than those of men, of the strains and complications of modern life. Measures are being taken and laws enacted all over our country to protect girls and women from demands upon their strength which would unfit them for the finer services to the race and to society which it is their high duty to fulfil. At the same time, a few women, with curious inconsistency, are demanding that fresh responsibilities, for which we know ourselves unfitted by nature, and which if conscientiously met would make our duties heavier, be forced upon all women.

We believe that women require protection from the turmoils of political life in order to perform successfully the work for which nature has obviously intended them—work whose value and dignity and importance we apparently rate more highly than those who, blind to the fine opportunities of influence and achievement already ours, are reaching after other opportunities in the development of which we should be at a great disadvantage in competition with men.

On the other hand, we contend that the introduction into our electorate of an element emotional in its judgment of vital questions, and without power to enforce its will except by the threat, the boycott, or some other form of terrorization, would dangerously weaken our government. These are fundamental principles which cannot be ignored.

A careful canvass of the women of Ohio, made with every attention to fairness and exactness, resulted in the enrollment of 121,706 anti-suffragists, against 12,147 suffragists and 1,571 indifferent. We have reason to claim the extreme probability of a similar proportion in Iowa, should a referendum be made to the women. The silent woman is an anti-suffragist.

We believe that it is no misplaced confidence which tells us that we can entrust our interests and those of our children to the men of America, to safeguard in the future as they have in the past. We ask you to justify our confidence by protecting us from this serious menace to the public weal. We ask your protection not only for ourselves, but also for the deluded women who, dazzled by specious promises and misled by plausible but shallow argument, are insisting upon a change in our electorate which many of them would live to regret.

Respectfully,

MABEL G. MILLARD, *President*,
MARY CHITTENDEN, *Secretary*.

A NOTICE TO THE COUNTRY

(Mobile, Ala. *Register*, Jan. 13, 1917)

ALMOST human characteristic is to take wishes for arguments; to believe a thing is right because we want it, rather than because the facts prove it right. In the same way, we close our eyes to what is disagreeable, and hope that the truth will be denied if we refuse to look at it. In this way some of us want woman suffrage so much that we accept any means proposed, even if such means is not the best for accomplishing the purpose, and may possibly be the worst.

Woman suffrage by amendment of the constitution of the United States means, of course, federal supervision of the suffrage and of elections. Some Southern women when told this, try to forget it, or perhaps think it is not so. They ought, however, to pay attention to a Republican senator who says it is so, and who has no reason to hide his eyes from viewing the proposed amendment in all its possible effect.

James Callaway, writing for the Macon *Telegraph*, revives what Senator Root said in 1911 on this subject. Senator Bacon had asked Senator Root:

Does the senator mean that if the adoption of this joint resolution to amend the constitution of the United States, should be ratified by three-fourths of the States, it would then be in the power of Congress to control by federal law, despite laws now on the statute books of the several States, the elections in such a way as to insure the right to vote to all persons thought by Congress to be entitled to vote?

Mr. Root: Without the slightest doubt. I meant to put you on notice and the whole country on notice.

Mr. Bacon: Mr. President, I have performed a service to my country in having the senator to announce the intention of this bill in particular terms. By this bill it will be seen that though the States prescribe the necessary qualifications for its voters, the federal registrar may defeat the design of the States and order the registration of persons whom it was the intention of the State to exclude * * * and thus it is possible to do by this Sutherland amendment what could not be done under the fifteenth amendment.

The whole country is on notice. The women should be warned while yet it is time to avoid making a deplorable mistake.

CHANCELLOR MAGIE

WILLIAM JAY MAGIE, former Chancellor of New Jersey and one of the best known jurists in that State, died January 15, at his home in Elizabeth, N. J., in his eighty-fifth year. He served almost continuously in public life from 1866 until January, 1908, when he retired as Chancellor, after eight years' service on the bench of New Jersey's Court of Equity.

Mr. Magie was born at Elizabeth on December 9, 1832. His father, David Magie, was for nearly forty-five years pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of that city. He was graduated from Princeton in 1852, studied law in the office of the late Francis B. Chetwood of Elizabeth and was admitted to the bar as an attorney in 1856, becoming a counsellor-at-law three years later. After practising law with Mr. Chetwood for six years and practising alone for some time he formed a partnership with Joseph Cross.

He served as Prosecutor of the Pleas of Union county from 1866 until 1871, and as State Senator from 1876 to 1878 inclusive.

Gov. George B. McClellan appointed him a Justice of the Supreme Court in 1880. He was reappointed by Gov. Robert S. Green in 1887 and by Gov. George T. Werts in 1894. On March 1, 1897, he was nominated by Gov. John W. Griggs as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to succeed the late Mercer Beasley, and he was at once confirmed by the Senate.

Justice Magie presided over the court until May 2, 1900, when Gov. Foster M. Voorhees appointed him to the office of Chancellor to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Alexander T. McGill. He was nominated for a full term of seven years as Chancellor by Gov. Voorhees on January 14, 1901. He was a Republican.

The former Chancellor had been a trustee of Princeton University since 1891, in which year the university conferred on him the degree of LL. D. He was married on October 1, 1857, to Sarah Francis Baldwin. He was the father of William Francis Magie, dean of the faculty of Princeton.

Justice Magie was a well-known opponent of woman suffrage, a member of the Men's Anti-Suffrage League, of New Jersey, and in September, 1915, he made the statement contained in the following article.

CIVILIZATION BASED UPON THE FAMILY

By Justice William J. Magie, Former Chancellor of New Jersey

I AM satisfied that a vast majority of the sensible women of the State do not desire to be burdened with the responsibilities of the franchise.

If the majority of the women of the State really desire the franchise it would still be necessary, before acceding to their desire, to be satisfied that the possession of the franchise would be a benefit to the State and not an injury to the home and family. For it must not be forgotten that a grant of the franchise is practically incapable of being withdrawn even if it works injury.

No one can deny that, up to this date, legislatures elected by male suffrage have been willing to accede to any legislation claimed to be a benefit to woman. They have sometimes yielded to woman's demand and enacted legislation that in practice may be injurious rather than beneficial.

What are the reasonable probabilities of improving conditions by reason of women's voting? I have not been able to discover in the action of States where women vote any reasonable legislation that would not have been passed at the demand of women before the franchise was granted them. Whether the experiment in those States is a success or not is affirmed and denied with equal vehemence and the period elapsed is too short to afford a fair proof of the result. For this reason I am not convinced that there is any benefit to the State by extending the franchise to the women.

If I could perceive plain benefit to the government by admitting women to the franchise, I think that I should still oppose it because I believe that it will be injurious to the race.

Our civilization is based upon the family and the home. By that I mean a home provided for by a father and presided over by a mother, in which children are born and reared to be citizens of the State.

I am not thinking of the homes of the people of vast wealth whose children are turned over too often to hirelings and miss a mother's care; nor of the homes of those, alas too many, oppressed by poverty where the mother's care is often thwarted by the stress of circumstances. My vision takes in the countless number of quiet homes on farms, around our factories, in the suburbs of large cities where fathers and mothers are raising children to be useful. To that task the father has but little time to devote; it must devolve upon the mother. To perform that duty properly she must maintain the family hearth as a place where her children can come for sympathy and encouragement and love. It is her influence which stamps the character of the child.

To grant to such a mother the franchise involves a duty on her part which will not be satisfied by merely casting a ballot. At first it is possible that men will silently acquiesce and permit the women of the kind I am thinking of to confine themselves to the duty of casting a ballot. But it is by the ballot that the State and municipal policies of government are ordained. Statutes and ordinances do not execute themselves. They must be enforced or they will be of no value. Their enforcement by means of courts and officers may, for a while, leave women out of the account; but men will not submit to this for long. If they are to be compelled to enforce the policies settled by women's votes, they will sooner or later (and very soon, I predict), insist that all the duties of a citizen must be performed by women as well as men; that they serve on juries, act as constables and policemen, be called out to serve on sheriff's posse; in short, to do all the duties of a citizen precisely as men are required to do.

It is impossible to deny that when these duties are cast upon the mothers of the race they cannot be performed by her without interfering, in the most serious manner, with her duties to her family and the children she is raising and educating by her motherly devotion.

For these reasons I shall cast my vote on October 19 against the proposed amendment to the Constitution.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH WYOMING?

THE DEMONSTRATION OF A FATAL FLAW IN FEMINISM

WHAT is wrong with Wyoming? Or is it woman suffrage? Let the reader consider the facts. Wyoming is a great State—in area—but in little else. Projected across the Eastern map, Wyoming would stretch from Buffalo to Boston, and from Charleston, West Virginia, to a point several hundred miles out on the Atlantic Ocean off the coast of Maryland! This area represents a region inhabited by nearly 30,000,000 people in the East. Yet Wyoming had a population of only 145,965 in 1910.

Wyoming adopted woman suffrage in 1869, through the influence of one woman on the territorial governor. The following year, the Legislature repealed woman suffrage, but the Governor vetoed the repeal, and suffrage has continued in the State for forty-eight years.

Wyoming, at the time it adopted woman suffrage, was 47th in the rank of States and territories. It still occupies that position.

Wyoming has the second smallest proportion of women in the United States, and the smallest proportion of married men. There are 219 men to every 100 women. The ratio for the entire country is 110 men to every 100 women. Wyoming has the second smallest number of occupied dwellings in the United States, 30,969, yet, in this vast territory, more persons live in one dwelling than in any other mountain State except Utah. The number of persons to a family in Wyoming is the same as the average for the United States (4.5), but the number of *families to population* is nearly 20 per cent. less than the average.

Wyoming has vast natural resources. Persons who have visited the Yellowstone National Park know that Wyoming is one of the most magnificent regions in America. Why has it been so backward in settlement? This is especially a pertinent question, as this State has held out the alleged bonus of the ballot for women for 48 years.

Everything on earth that the suffragist orator tells us can be done by votes for women, *could have been done* any time during the last half century in Wyoming. Why has Wyoming "mothered" no reform legislation in this country? Why is it, in many ways, the most backward in granting protective legislation to women and children?

Wyoming came into the Union with a Constitution in which Section 3, Article 1, declares that the laws of the State affecting

> "the rights and privileges of its citizens shall be without distinction of race, color, sex or any circumstance whatsoever other than individual incompetency or unworthiness duly ascertained by a court of competent jurisdiction."

In 1900, the Legislature of Wyoming, composed of men only, sent a petition to the United States Congress for the Federal amendment and closing with these words: *"We urge every civilized community on earth to enfranchise its women without delay."*

Suppose this advice had been taken. Suppose *every* State now had a Constitution "eliminating sex in legislation" and requiring that women vote "on the same terms as men."

What would happen to the legal protection of the woman worker?

No need to take the word of the anti-suffragist. The courts of Wyoming, oldest suffrage State, have decided.

In January, 1917, upholding the State Constitution which denies distinctions of sex, the Wyoming courts have declared it *unconstitutional* to protect the working woman, and thus nullify Chapter 45, Session Laws, 1915, which prohibited the employment of women more than 56 hours a week or more than 10 hours a day.

(See page 40, "Labor Laws of the State of Wyoming," compiled by Hon. Frank L. Houx, Secretary of State and Acting Governor.)

Thus Wyoming has constitutionally demonstrated that "equal rights" are actually a menace to the welfare of the woman worker; that they prevent proper legislative protection of the potential mother—a right and requirement recognized in "every civilized community on earth."

Again, if it is true that American women without the vote have been "slaves," why have the suffragists never attempted to gain freedom by going to Wyoming?

When the Puritans were persecuted in England, they came to America.

Our country was settled largely by men fleeing from foreign tyranny to the freedom of a new continent.

Every negro slave who desired freedom in the South before the emancipation proclamation, sought to come to the North.

Even the Mormons, persecuted in Illinois and Missouri, treked across the plains with their many wives and large families to found an empire of their own in Utah.

The suffragists formally declared man a "usurper" in 1848.

He had inflicted "repeated injuries" on woman "having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her," they stated. The first of these terrible injuries was:

"He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise." (Declaration of Sentiments.)

In 1869, Wyoming "eliminated sex" in legislation.

From that day to this, nearly every privilege, every right, every exercise of political power, has been legally the same for man or woman.

From that day to this, everything that the feminist or the suffragist wants, or thinks she can obtain with the vote, has been attainable in Wyoming. There were only 9,000 people there in 1869.

Any well-organized expedition of suffragists could have taken over the territory and made of it a feminist empire.

"Man, the usurper" could have been barred altogether. Susan B. Anthony or Elizabeth Cady Stanton—to say nothing of the modern leaders of the cause—might have been Governors of that State many years ago, had they been willing to work for freedom "on the same terms as men." Any woman with the grit and determination of a Christopher Columbus, a Captain John Smith, or even of a Brigham Young, who could have persuaded a few other women to follow her, might have gone as far as she liked with feminism in Wyoming.

Why has history produced no such Amazon in America?

Why have women, alleged to be suffering under the cruel tyranny of men they despise and laws "which they have no voice in making" never tried to colonize the vast empire of Wyoming?

Was there no suffrage leader with the executive ability common to thousands of men who have colonized countries? Could no women be gathered together who wanted "freedom" enough to go to it?

The Mormons did not lack women followers, willing to suffer every hardship on the long trail across the country, for a part interest in a polygamous husband. Yet no suffrage leader among the many who are not bound to what they call "the isolated household" nor united to any man in matrimony, has ever even proposed such an expedition, the most elemental thing that would occur to the liberty-seeking man!

What is the explanation? Have suffragists more desire to talk about voting than to vote, more taste for arm-chair discussion of "freedom" than for the realization of their program? Or is it true that women, as a sex, will *not* colonize any country for themselves, nor seek to govern it themselves when given the opportunity, even though woman in all ages will endure the hardest hardships of pioneer life for some mere man!

"A woman can do anything a man can do if she is trained to it," say the feminists. Wyoming has had a standing *offer of an empire* for fifty years to the woman or women who could demonstrate that proposition in action, instead of words!

In 1915, a Wyoming publisher widely advertised a book in Denver and Ohama newspapers, in which it was claimed could be found a sketch of "every pioneer and prominent citizen of Wyoming." The book is called "The Men of Wyoming," and evidently the author believes that no woman voter in fifty years in that State has achieved the status of a "prominent citizen."

At the last election, 1916, Wyoming cast *fewer* votes than Delaware, although there are more *men* in Wyoming.

Perhaps women do *not* vote in Wyoming. But "if so, why; and if not, why not?"

What is wrong with Wyoming, the great unclaimed opportunity for feminism, the State that has demonstrated for fifty years that *women do not want to vote?*—J. S. E.

THE CONTRAST OF A CHART WITH THE TRUTH

By Minnie Bronson, General Secretary National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

[Although informed persons know, and suffragists concede, when driven to it, that woman suffrage does not improve legislation for women and children, attempts are always being made to convey this impression. The crudity and futility of some of these attempts to evade the facts are well shown in the following articles, dealing mostly with Child Labor, which, in the opinion of the official suffrage organ, is apparently the most important form of protective legislation.—Editor]

IN the current issue of *The Woman's Journal*, the official suffrage organ, appears a chart purporting to be an accurate graphic representation of legislation affecting women and children in the United States.

The graphic consists of nine concentric circles surrounding an inner wheel divided by 48 spokes into spaces representing the 48 States. The extended spokes divide the nine surrounding circles into segments, which are printed in black or white, the black segments representing poor laws or none at all, the white segments good laws. It looks like a toy target.

No one has the temerity to sign this graphic. No authority is given for its astonishing statements. Presumably *The Woman's Journal* is responsible for it. It is certain that no student of law could have made so many egregious blunders.

The circles surrounding the inner wheel of States are labeled as follows: 1, child labor; 2, compulsory education; 3, 8 or 9-hour day for women; 4, minimum wage; 5, mothers' pensions; 6, equal guardianship; 7, age of consent (18); 8, red-light abatement; 9, prohibition.

The inner wheel of States shows the male suffrage States in white and the double suffrage States in a screened black. Aside from the circle giving the data on prohibition, which was probably obtained accurately from the Anti-Saloon League or the W. C. T. U., the inner wheel showing the male suffrage States white is the only circle in which there are not gross mistakes and misrepresentations.

The first circle, referring to child labor, was undoubtedly designed by child labor, for no one with one iota of knowledge on the subject or with one half hour spent in investigation could have deduced such results. There are 27 blunders in the compilation for the 48 States!

It is to be presumed that the suffragists will accept on this subject the reports of the National Child Labor Committee, since the secretary of that Committee is one of their chief speakers and spellbinders. According to the suffrage chart, Wyoming has a "good" child labor law. According to pamphlet 248, National Child Labor Committee, entitled, "What State Laws and the Federal Census Say About Child Labor," Wyoming is one of two States in the Union having *no* standard child labor provisions!

In 1915, Wyoming, after 46 years of woman suffrage, passed an act establishing a 9-hour day for children *under* 14 years of age!

The other State having no standard child labor provisions is New Mexico. Why paint New Mexico black and Wyoming white?

Colorado is represented in pure white and Iowa in black, but according to the National Child Labor bulletin, Colorado's 14-year age limit does not apply during vacation, but Iowa's applies the entire year.

Colorado permits night work for children under 16. Iowa prohibits it. Colorado permits children under 16 to work more than 8 hours a day in vacations or with a permit. Iowa prohibits it.

Colorado is one of the three States in the Union which permit children of ten to beg, peddle or sell articles for gain on the streets. Why is Colorado painted in white by the suffrage child labor artist?

Again, Oregon, a suffrage State, is purest white on the suffrage chart. It has "good" child labor laws. New York is deepest black. Yet the Child Labor pamphlet No. 248 tells us that Oregon is the *only* State that has recently gone *backward* in child labor legislation, by weakening or nullifying its 14-year limit in factories and canneries. New York has these provisions without exemptions. Moreover, boys over 12, gathering produce, have a 6-hour day in New York. In Colorado children are shamefully over-worked in the sugar beet industry. Why are Colorado and Oregon white and New York, with the shortest work-day in the world for children, gathering produce, black?

The second circle is quite as inaccurate on compulsory education. All the suffrage States but Montana and Nevada are printed white, but with few exceptions the male suffrage States are black. Every State north of Mason and Dixon's line has a compulsory education law, though the length of the school term varies in different States.

Compare, for example, the State of California printed white in the suffrage chart and South Dakota printed black. In California school attendance is compulsory between 8 and 15 entire school year except in cases of poverty. In South Dakota school attendance is compulsory between 8 and 16 entire school year.

To use a familiar expression of *The Woman's Journal*, "comment would be superfluous."

Let us see what is considered an adequate compulsory education law. For example, in Colorado, school attendance is compulsory from the ages of 8 to 16, but there are exemptions of children over 14. This law, according to the chart, is good. At least it is printed white. But North Dakota, with exactly the same law as Colorado, that is, compulsory school attendance from 8 to 16 with exemptions over 14, is printed black. "Comment would be superfluous."

The other circles are equally misleading.

Take the third protection, the 8 or 9-hour day. Colorado is pictured in purest white as having an 8-hour day, but Nebraska is left in the blackness of Egypt, indicating that it has neither an 8 nor 9-hour day.

As a matter of fact, in Nebraska, Section 3564 of the Revised Statutes of 1913 specifically prohibits the employment of females for more than 9 hours during any one day; provides that they shall be employed only 54 hours a week, and that this work must be done between 6 A.M. and 10 P.M. Is it because there is no prevention of night work in Colorado and the limit is 56 hours per week that it is printed white?

New York has a 9-hour day for women, with a 54-hour week and no night work, but it is in black. Why is it "good" legislation to permit women to work all night in Colorado, and "bad or none at all" to give them fewer hours a week and protection from night labor in Nebraska and New York?

Massachusetts, with minimum wage, is in black. Why?

Pennsylvania, with "the best Mothers' Pension Act in the United States," according to the president of the National Congress of Mothers, is in black. Why?

There are, altogether, 90 "blunders" in this chart on 9 laws!

Will the suffragist artist explain?

A chart conveying so much misinformation would be simply a curiosity were it not employed to "manufacture the evidence" for a cause which cannot face the honest facts.

A COMPARISON OF CHILD LABOR LAWS

WHEN suffrage speakers are in communities where the appeal of "economic independence" and feminism falls flat, they advocate votes-for-women as a remedy for all the existing evils. The usual method is to exploit children carrying banners in parades or in cartoons with "give mother the vote" inscriptions. On the platform, lurid pictures are drawn of child workers, with the inference that they would benefit if "the mother half of humanity" went into politics.

All of these appeals are made in spite of the indisputable fact that some of the States that have reduced their women to political equality with men have also proved most callous in their lack of legislative consideration for children.

It is even more significant, perhaps, that Wyoming, oldest suffrage State, is the only State in the Union, with the exception of New Mexico, with no standard child labor provisions!

This statement, which may prove startling to some ill-informed suffragists, cannot be evaded on the plea that Wyoming has few child workers. Wyoming has few child workers, it is true, yet, in proportion to the number of children 10 to 13, according to the United States Census of 1910, Wyoming is the twenty-seventh State in the proportionate extent of child labor. Twenty-one States, including the great industrial States of Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, had a *smaller proportion* of children 10 to 13 at work than Wyoming! (National Child Labor Committee pamphlet 237, entitled: "The Extent of Child Labor Officially Measured.")

Why is Wyoming so backward in child labor legislation, when, as the Census shows, it should have at least an *average* regard for the protection of childhood? Moreover, if it is claimed that Wyoming is not an industrial State, this is all the *more* reason why it should have *model* child labor laws, and get them while there is less opposition from industrial interests.

What is the matter with Wyoming, with its half-century of "votes for women." Do they expect no more children in that State, or has "the mother half of humanity," after two generations of political power in Wyoming, grown more callous to the child?

This is a fair question for the suffragists to answer. This is a definite reform for them to attempt. Will they take up the challenge, and give Wyoming children better protection?

It is in no spirit of aimless criticism that these questions are asked, but in the hope that the "indirect influence" of anti-suffrage comment will wake up Wyoming to the passage of better laws for the protection of its children than votes for women have given it in 48 years! The anti-suffragists have been successful in a similar use of despised "indirect influence" in obtaining better legislation in several of the suffrage States.

As mentioned above, Wyoming is one of two States in the Union, according to the National Child Labor Committee's Pamphlet No. 248, revised to January, 1917, without any standard child labor provisions. There is not even a 16-year limit in mines or quarries, although Wyoming is one of the States reported by the Census as having mine products valued at $2,500,000 a year or over!

Only three States in the Union have no 14-year limit in factories. *Wyoming* is one of them. New Mexico and North Carolina are its only colleagues.

Lest it be thought that this article is devoted to a concentrated attack on Wyoming as the "horrible example" of the failure of woman suffrage to protect the child worker, we give below some facts respecting the status of the other woman suffrage States, as well as the male suffrage States, on this question.

This material, given in condensed form, is taken from Pamphlet 248, National Child Labor Committee, entitled, "What State Laws and the Federal Census Say About Child Labor."

Let us examine two of the tables given in this pamphlet. There are three. We have already covered the essential parts of the third table, entitled "States Without Standard Provisions," in the case of Wyoming, the *only* State lacking *all* of them except New Mexico.

Table I is entitled:

"States Having Standard Provisions Without Exemptions."

There are five of these standard child labor provisions:

(a) 14-year limit in factories and canneries.
(b) 16-year limit for night work in factories and canneries.
(c) 8-hour day under 16 in factories and canneries.
(d) 16-year limit in mines and quarries.
(e) 16-year limit in mines but not in quarries.

Twenty-seven States have standard provision (a) without exemptions.

Eleven of these States have *defeated* woman suffrage at the polls.

In other words, all but two (South Dakota and West Virginia) of the thirteen States which have thus defeated woman suffrage are included.

Only two of the twenty-seven States are full suffrage States, Arizona and Montana, although Illinois, where women do not vote for law-makers, has the provision.

Thirty-four States have standard provision (b) without exemptions, including eleven of the States that have *defeated* woman suffrage.

Only *five* suffrage States, California, Washington, Arizona, Idaho and Montana, have this provision.

Twenty States have standard provision (c) without exemptions.

Nine of these States have *defeated* woman suffrage at the polls, and only *four*, Arizona, California, Kansas and Nevada, have votes for women.

Fourteen States have standard provision (d) without exemptions.

Only *three* of these States, Arizona, California and Nevada, have woman suffrage.

Five States have standard provision (e) without exemptions, which, of course, is unnecessary in States with provision (d).

Three of these States, Colorado, Montana and Washington, have woman suffrage.

It is noticeable that Colorado, with woman suffrage for 24 years, has only *one* provision (e) without exemptions; while Wyoming, with woman suffrage twice as long, has *none*, with or without exemptions!

Table II is entitled:

"States Weakening or Nullifying Standard Provisions by Exemptions."

This is the table in which Colorado scores most heavily.

It is accused of weakening or nullifying three of the standard provisions, the only State on the table thus accused except Mississippi.

Only *three* of the thirteen States which have *defeated* woman suffrage are on this list, South Dakota, Iowa and West Virginia.

Seven of the suffrage States, however, California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, Oregon and Nevada, weaken or nullify their child labor laws!

Now let the suffragists "start something" to demonstrate that "votes for women" can improve conditions for the child, instead of getting up excuses and evasions for the fact that suffrage States are woefully behind on this, one of the most elemental and necessary forms of protective legislation, and are most neglectful in their enforcement where these laws exist.

—J. S. E.

A FEDERAL INDICTMENT OF "BETTER CANDIDATES"

A PRESS dispatch from Seattle, Washington, January 27, declares that Mayor Hiram Gill, the famous "reformed" candidate, Chief of Police Charles L. Beckingham and former Sheriff Robert T. Hodge were indicted by the Federal grand jury on that date for violation of the Federal liquor laws. Similar indictments were also returned against four city detectives and a former policeman. There are thirteen defendants in all, charged jointly with conspiracy in one indictment, with the exception of the former policeman, who is accused singly.

Mayor Gill has had a lurid political career. He was elected mayor of Seattle in March, 1910. His administration was assailed for alleged toleration of vice, and he was called the open champion of the saloon and disorderly house. In the spring of 1911, Gill was removed from office by recall. This event was heralded throughout the country as a concrete demonstration of the power of the women's vote!

George Creel wrote a wonderful story about it in the *Century* Magazine.

Oddly enough, before the story was on the newsstands, Hiram Gill was re-elected mayor in 1914 by an enormous majority, carrying every ward but one, including the residence precincts. He was re-elected mayor again in March, 1916. It was alleged by the suffragists that Mayor Gill had "reformed" after his first "wide open" administration. Another excuse is now needed to explain the recent indictments. What is it? We await it with interest. "Better candidates when women vote" is an old suffrage slogan. Hiram Gill is a sample of "how it works."

"*THE greatest change* that has come with woman suffrage in the twelve States where women vote is *the change in the way men think of women.*"—New Suffrage Correspondence Course, Lesson IX, "What Women Have Done With the Ballot."

Aside from common knowledge that the woman of today receives less courtesy from men than did her mother and grandmother, let us consider the following testimony from States where women vote:

THE CHANGE

EXTRACT from letter of A. B., Los Angeles, California:

When I tell you that Mrs. Clara Shortridge Foltz, an attorney, a leading suffragist and owner and editor of *The New Woman*, commented in a recent issue of her paper on the new treatment accorded women by men, you can know that the condition that I referred to in Washington more than three years ago is becoming intolerable.

Generally speaking the better class of men in their attitude to women are contemptuous, inconsiderate, disdainful or bitter—only the man in the lowest walks of life displays any deference to women in California.

Some women pretend they do not notice the change, others say they wish to be on a level with man, but most women and most men deplore this downward tendency. A man commenting on the result of suffrage in California, uniquely expressed himself thus—"Suffrage makes the good men hen-pecked and the bad men bolder."

Inquiring of a leading man at Republican headquarters last election why they put women on as electors, and on committees and up for office, brought this reply—"What can we do? The women come and tell us what they want and what they are going to do and if we argue with them or try to make them see things for the good of the republic, they either get peeved or they threaten us."

In talking to a prominent banker about a vicious measure the women were assisting to put through, he said in a very irritable way—"If we don't have less suffragette in politics we soon will have no government at all."

HOW WOMEN VOTE

(Los Angeles *Examiner*)

Elections bring lots of strange things: Why, when I look back over the months and months of training, "preparation" for election that has been given at the Woman's City Club, something I have heard since Tuesday seems almost astounding. I am told that with all their good intentions in their pockets, or rather in their sleeves, some club women went to the polls to vote. And when they got there they couldn't find Hughes' or Wilson's name on the ballots, so they didn't vote for President. Another group I heard of said they put their crosses in "all those funny little squares," so as to be sure to vote for something. They were surprised when they were told that they incidentally cast a straight vote for all four candidates.

But these are only occasional persons I know. But really there wasn't any "education" given on just that part of the ballot, if I remember correctly.

SORRY FOR SUFFRAGE

(By Harry Carr, in the Los Angeles *Times*)

"RECENTLY I read a translation of a Japanese newspaper editorial, in which the writer said that Japan had nothing to fear from America 'Because America is now dominated by women.'"

There is a dreadful peril in the over-feminization of this country. They now have girl scouts organized into military companies, making thereby a plaything of national defense. • • •

Until I saw it tried, I had always been an advocate of woman suffrage. My candid opinion is now that woman suffrage is a complete failure. The "Woman's Peace mission" to Europe soured me for life on women in international affairs.

The peace mission was led by Miss Jane Addams, the heroine of Hull House in Chicago. I was in Berlin shortly after Miss Addams had gone there for the purpose of asking the Kaiser politely to please stop the war.

All Europe was simply screaming with laughter and I was ashamed to be an American.

If Miss Addams and her peace mission are a sample of women in world affairs, I want to take it all back. I am sincerely sorry I voted for suffrage.

MR. BRYAN TALKS

(New York *Times*, February 6)

TO the Editor of The New York Times:

I note the following headline in *The Woman's Journal*, the official suffrage organ: "Bryan, in Ohio, Talks for Votes."

Mr. Bryan has talked for votes for thirty years. It is not news.

He spoke for votes for himself on three noteworthy occasions, on which comment would be superfluous.

In Nebraska, he spoke for votes for women—seventeen times—with his usual success. In New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio Mr. Bryan has been equally effective.

A few days ago the Senate of Tennessee postponed the vote on extending Presidential suffrage to the women of that State, and invited Mr. Bryan to speak on the subject.

At the time of the invitation the "antis" were much disturbed at the situation. A poll of Senators indicated seventeen against and fifteen for, with two of the antis wavering.

After Mr. Bryan "talked for votes" for women the result was not in doubt. The bill was defeated a few days later by nearly two to one, twenty-one votes against suffrage and twelve for it.

Mr. Bryan is a great talker for votes—against any cause he advocates.

AN OBSERVER.

WOMAN'S PROGRESS

"THE Civil War, which caused every other interest to be put aside, *was a great blow to the cause of woman's rights.* Women gave up working for themselves during this time of danger, and put all their energy into working for their country • • •

"During the Civil War women learned many lessons. Responsibility developed them. They learned to *think more for themselves.*"—New Suffrage Correspondence School Course, Lesson V, "Progress of Women in the United States."

The phrases given above in italics are in bold faced type in the suffrage lesson. Doubtlessly, the compiler never thought of the significance of the fact that the same war which made women "think more for themselves" and "put all their energy into working for their country" was "a great blow to the cause of woman's rights."

Congratulations to the Correspondence Course for accidentally revealing a few truths about the "Progress of women in the United States"—in spite of woman suffrage agitation!

WOMAN VOTER A "DRY" ANTI

(From the Kansas City *Star*)

SYRACUSE, KAN.—*To the Star:* Kansas went for Wilson because Hughes declared himself more radically for woman suffrage. The question of suffrage had more to do with the defeat of Hughes than preparedness. Suffrage has been voted, in every instance, into States by men influenced by "screamers" and "kickers" for "the cause." If national suffrage were left exclusively to the vote of the women it would be defeated overwhelmingly.

Every woman elected to office robs some wife, or mother or sweetheart of her rights. Every mother elected to office robs her children and others' children of their God-given rights. Every unmarried woman elected to office quite probably puts the education of future citizens of her State into her own personal pleasures.

The national probihition amendment would stand a better chance if presented alone, not tagged with suffrage. As many pro-suffrage as anti-suffrage women oppose prohibition. Kansas voted prohibition more than twenty-five years before women had the ballot. Women voted nearly twenty-five years in Colorado before the State went dry. Women's ballots have not won California from the wets.

I am a Kansas Republican, but I voted for neither Hughes nor Capper. Although I did not expect them to win, I voted for the prohibition candidates because they stand on the right side of the most vital problem our country is facing to-day.

A CHRISTIAN MOTHER.

NOTES FROM THE STATES

NEW YORK

ON February 8th, Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, president of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, sent the following letter to Governor Whitman and Mayor Mitchel of New York City:

"The New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage at a special executive meeting held to-day reaffirmed the position taken by that association in January, 1916, when the following resolution for preparedness was adopted. * * * (Resolution for National Defense quoted. See page 4.)

"It was further resolved at this meeting that this organization take an unqualified stand in favor of universal military service, believing that such service furthers the ideals of democracy and affirms individual responsibility to the State.

"This Association also signified its approval of the military training laws enacted by the State Legislature at the last session.

"Our Association has been, and is, cooperating with the American Red Cross and other patriotic societies in relief work, and at this time of national crisis stands ready at your command as Governor of New York to perform such services as circumstances may require."

The New York State Council met at the Century Club in Rochester on January 22d, two delegates from each auxiliary of the State attending. Mrs. George W. Parkhurst of Buffalo, chairman of the Council, presided at the morning session, which was a closed one. Plans were perfected for a vigorous State-wide campaign to defeat woman suffrage again next November by an overwhelming majority. At the close of the morning session a luncheon was served, with about 300 covers.

Mrs. Henry F. Burton, chairman of the Rochester Auxiliary, opened the afternoon session by appealing for more workers. Enthusiasm, optimism and co-operation were the keynotes of the convention. The State Council fulfills a long-felt need, bringing the various anti-suffrage "units" together, and establishing the means for organization and development in every part of the State.

The Fete de Vanite given by the Junior Anti-suffrage League on February 7, at the Hotel Plaza, was a brilliant and overwhelming success. The program consisted of poster displays in which debutantes of the winter appeared; followed by a series of dances by members of the League, after which there was general dancing.

Miss Mary Lena Hayden was the able chairman of the committee on arrangements. This is the second Junior Anti-suffrage affair which Miss Hayden has carried through to a successful conclusion. Last year the proceeds were divided between anti-suffrage and aviation. This year part of the funds raised will be given to the work of after-care of infantile paralysis. The officers of the Junior Anti-suffrage League are: Miss Isabel Yeomans, president pro tem.; Miss Candice Hewitt, vice-president; Miss Gladys MacDougall, secretary, and Miss Katherine Satterlee, treasurer.

The Misses Hewitt opened their house on Lincoln's Birthday for an "Anti-suffrage Review" by Miss Chittenden, who explained the present situation of the suffrage question throughout the country.

The Hewitt house is one of special interest to old New Yorkers, having been built by the great philanthropist Peter Cooper. One of the first meetings, in 1894, held in New York City to organize a committee in opposition to woman suffrage, was at this house, and was addressed by the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, former Mayor of New York.

Since the first of the year Thursday afternoon teas have been given, and these are proving an ever-growing success. Miss Alice Foote MacDougall is chairman of the Hospitality Committee, and there is a special hostess for every afternoon. The newly organized Riverside Section were hostesses on February 9th—Mrs. Howard F. Doane, chairman; Mrs. Lansing C. Holden, Mrs. R. B. Ludington, Miss Grace Gould and Mrs. George H. Dobbin in charge.

Addresses are made on each occasion, discussion of anti-suffrage invited, and a delightful informality is bringing together many women not formerly active, who, as a direct result of these teas, have enrolled themselves as ardent workers for anti-suffrage.

One of the biggest social successes of the season in Brooklyn was the Triangle Theater party of the Brooklyn Auxiliary on the evening of February 6th. The theater had been leased for the occasion, and as the house was sold out far in advance, the entertainment was also financially satisfactory. An interesting incident, and a sidelight on the anti-suffrage strength in Brooklyn, was a twenty-dollar bill received from one well-wisher.

Mrs. James Guthrie Shaw was chairman of the committee on arrangements, with Mrs. Henry Frothingham Noyes, Mrs. Clarence Waterman, Mrs. William F. Ford, Miss M. Jeanette Williams, Mrs. William McLeod Hanford, Mrs. T. W. Reynolds and Mrs. Horatio M. Adams.

A debate between Charlotte E. Rowe and Florence Kelley took place in Nyack, under the auspices of the Public Forum of the Business Men's Club at Nyack, on January 18th. As most suffragists are refusing to debate in this campaign, it was necessary for the Rockland County suffragists to send to Chicago for Mrs. Kelley, who came on specially for this debate.

MASSACHUSETTS

Luncheon-meetings are quite the vogue with our branches this season. Taunton led off with a gathering of seventy in the ball room of the Taunton Inn on January 12, the speakers were: Mrs. John Balch, State President; Mrs. W. W. Churchill of Milton; Mrs. Frank B. Sanborn, chairman of the Cambridge Legislative Committee and Mrs. B. A. Norton, chairman of the Eighth Congressional District. Fitchburg and Brockton Branches sent delegates.

On Monday the 15th, Somerville Branch gave a Chafing Dish Luncheon at which more than 100 women sat at table. After the luncheon a meeting was held, Miss Eleanor W. Allen, chairman of the Ninth Congressional District, presiding. Mrs. Balch, Mrs. Henry Preston White, Mrs. B. A. Norton and Miss Catherine Robinson were the speakers. The same day Jamaica Plain held a meeting, Mr. Turner, attorney for the Men's National Association, speaking on the Federal Amendment. Mrs. Edwin Ford also gave a short talk. Fitchburg and Worcester Branches held luncheon-meetings on January 30 and 31, respectively, Miss Emily P. Bissell being the principal speaker. Miss Evelyn Sears of the State Executive Committee spoke on the Federal Amendment. Meetings of this description are planned for February by Milton and Wellesley Branches.

Mrs. Thomas Allen, of the College Anti-Suffrage League, spoke at Mary Lyon Hall, Mt. Holyoke College, January 19, and the following day addressed a meeting of the Northampton Branch, held at the residence of Mrs. Henry Williams. January 23 the Cambridge Anti-Suffrage Association held a public meeting at which Mrs. Robert S. Bradley, a member of the State Executive Board and chairman of the Women's Municipal League of Boston, described "The Campaign Against the Rat" as being at present waged in Boston.

The annual luncheon of the State Association will be held at the Hotel Somerset, Boston, Friday, February 16. Miss Emily Bissell of Wilmington, Delaware, and Mrs. Annie Riley Hale of New York have been invited to speak.

Mrs. B. L. Robinson, president of the Public Interests League, spoke at meetings arranged for her at Bristol and Concord, N. H., the first part of January and on the 23d addressed the Senate Committee of the New Hampshire Legislature.

Mrs. Edwin Ford and Miss Catherine Robinson spent the first week in January in Maine. Mrs. Ford addressed a large gathering in Augusta and assisted in organizing that city. Miss Robinson spoke at meetings arranged for her in Portland.

Miss Mabel Gillespie, of the Minimum Wage Commission, and Dr. Michael Davis, head of the Boston Dispensary, were the guests of the Public Interests League at its January meeting. Dr. Davis gave an interesting address on the Health Insurance bill and Miss Gillespie spoke on the Eight Hour Law.

At this meeting it was reported that $2,500 additional contributions had been received from Anti-Suffragists who attended the National Convention, bringing the total amount received since the reading of the League's report up to $4,000.

NEW JERSEY

DECEMBER and January have proven quite eventful months for the New Jersey Association. Our leaders, returning from the Convention, encouraged and inspired, seem to have taken up their work with new zeal and energy. Various plans are already being considered whereby the more distant branches may be re-quickened and brought within close touch with the State organization.

The Organization Committee, which is under the able leadership of Mrs. Theodore Woodbury, of Orange, and Mrs. John R. Emery, of Morristown, reports satisfactory progress in its work of organizing in Congressional districts. During the last week in December, this committee was able to send Miss Clara Markeson into South Jersey where she visited various inactive branches and aroused and stimulated interest in the work. The report she brought back from this field was highly encouraging.

Miss Vezin, of Elizabeth, who has the matter in hand, reports that requests for speakers for clubs and debates are coming in all the time and her chief difficulty is to fit in the speaker to the occasion.

The Mountain Lakes Woman's Club had an exceedingly interesting debate on December 22. Miss Marjorie Dorman presented our side of the question; she was opposed by Miss Louise Conolly, a vice-president of one of the suffrage societies of the State. Miss Dorman was in fine form, and outpointed her opponent on every count.

On the afternoon of January 15, Miss Lucy Price debated at the Nutley Woman's Club against Miss Louise Conolly. Miss Price most decidedly carried off the honors, for although the representation in the audience was overwhelmingly suffrage, she was listened to with rapt attention, which was more than was accorded her adversary.

On February 9, Miss Price will debate at Hightstown. Other debates or presentations of our side will be at Matawan, February 26; Jersey City, March 5 and Sewaren, March 7.

A delightful "Tea" in honor of the State President, Mrs. Edward Yarde Breese, was given by Mrs. Henry M. Darcy, President of the Newark branch at her residence, 28 James street, on the afternoon of January 23. The object of this "tea" was to give the presidents of the branches an opportunity of meeting with Mrs. Breese and with one another and of talking over the need of increased co-operation between the State organization and the separate branches. About fifty women were present. Mrs. Breese gave an interesting talk and the welfare of the Association was discussed in an informal manner.

The month of January was rounded out by a most successful popular luncheon, given by the Summit Branch, at Nippon Hall. The tickets were in great demand and the sale had to be suspended several days before, owing to the limited capacity of the hall. As it was, 180 women attended including a number from other branches. The room was decorated with American flags and pink potted primroses and each table had a centerpiece of pink roses or carnations. Mrs. Thomas B. Adams, President of the Summit Branch, introduced the speakers, who included Mrs. E. Yarde Breese, State President; Miss Clara Vezin, Legislative Chairman, and Mrs. G. Herbert Smith, Recording Secretary for New Jersey, and who is also a member of the Summit Branch.

The principal address was given by Miss Marjorie Dorman.

MRS. G. HERBERT SMITH.

VIRGINIA

AT a called meeting of the Virginia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, February 6th, at the home of the president, Mrs. Francis D. Williams, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

"In this moment of trial of our nation, when every man and every woman may be called on to lay aside personal and selfish duties and interests to answer the supreme call of patriotism, the Virginia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage desires to lay aside and suppress every idea of self-importance, and to call upon all true women to offer themselves, their services and lives to the cause of the nation.

"We believe that women can be most efficient and helpful, not in demanding political importance, or authority and notoriety, but in rendering the services for which women are best qualified, namely, the duties of the mother and wife, the guiding light of ideal love and sympathy, of charity and kindness, and practical, patient work on these lines to which God has eternally called them. Therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the Virignia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage tenders and promises to the President, through the Governor of Virginia, every service which may lie within the power of its members, from the simplest act to the highest ideal."

On the passing of this resolution, the plan of preparedness work was discussed and at once accepted.

A MILLION-DOLLAR MACHINE

HOW many persons know that the National American Woman Suffrage Association confesses to spending more money per annum than any other political organization? As though it were a mere bagatelle, *The Woman Voter*, the official suffrage organ of New York State, announces that "The National Association and its auxiliaries now raise and expend about a million dollars per year. When it is remembered that the National Republican Committee reported the receipt and disbursement of about two and a half millions in the recent Presidential campaign and the Democratic Committee nearly two million, it will be seen that the addition of a million dollars to the propaganda of an active and growing movement is not a vast sum."

In other words, the National Suffrage Association spends about $4,000,000 in four years, or one-third more than the National Republican Committee, and over twice as much as the National Democratic Committee! And "the addition of a million dollars"—which refers to the Leslie million—to this stupendous million-dollar-a-year suffrage machine "is not a vast sum!"

When it is remembered that the National Suffrage Association's campaign funds and expenditures are independent of those of the various State Suffrage organizations, one may estimate that the money expended is vastly greater than "about a million dollars a year."

How is this money used? How are these vast sums expended?

Yet there is no suffrage meeting where a collection is not taken up. The poorest of the poor are urged to contribute. A woman who cannot give money is urged to make some "self-sacrifice." Regular days are appointed on which women are invited to throw their jewelry into "melting pots." One of these exhibited in a suffrage window contained nine wedding rings!

As everybody knows that the suffragists are not nearly so well organized as the Republicans and Democrats, and that their national expenditures have no reason whatever to be greater than those of the big parties, the admission that they spend a million-dollars-a-year in fruitless agitation is a significant illustration of the amount of feminist extravagance they would introduce into politics if they could.

THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

FOUNDED 1895

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Woman's Relation to Government — *Mrs. Wm. F. Scott*
Taxation and Suffrage — *Frederick Dwight*
First Legislative Address — *Mrs. Francis M. Scott*
The Woman Suffrage Crisis
(Editorial, *New York Times*, February 8, 1915)
Suffragists Desert Philanthropy
Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law
Dodgers
Suffrage a Cult of Self and Sex — *Dr. Charles L. Dana*
Some Catholic Views
Red Behind the Yellow
Suffrage Not a Right — *Hon. Henry L. Stimson*
Woman Will Not Gain by Suffrage — *Judge Edgar M. Cullen*
An Argument Against the Woman Suffrage Amendment — *Stephen H. Olin*

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Woman Suffrage Opposed to Woman's Rights — *Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge*
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